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HAVANA'S REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM FOR LATIN AMERICA

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HAVANA'S REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM FOR LATIN AMERICA

Summary

PART A. REVOLUTIONARY AIMS

From the earliest days of the regime, Castro and his propagandists have advertised Cuba's revolution as the model for the rest of Latin America and the spark that will set in motion an inexorable process of revolt. In the past year the prognosis has been carried a step further to envision the ultimate embrace of "socialism" by all of Latin America. The Second Declaration of Havana, proclaimed by Castro in February 1962 as Cuba's answer to the Punta del Este conference, has served as the manifesto for this movement. Keynoted by this document, Cuban propaganda has given copious encouragement to revolutionaries throughout the hemisphere. It has proffered militant "support," but in terms vague enough to conceal the limitations on Cuba's capability to provide material aid. Castro was atypically and rashly explicit in promising in April 1960, at a time when he was making friendly overtures to President Betancourt, that Cuba would be ready to assist the Venezuelans with "men and weapons" if tyranny should ever return to their country. Such promises have been studiously avoided since Castro turned against Betancourt and began urging the Venezuelans to rebel.

The calls to revolutionary action this year have carried a new sense of urgency, which may be reactive in large part to Castro's loss of face in the hemisphere during the October crisis. The statement in the Second Declaration of Havana that the role of a revolutionary is not to sit passively in his doorway "and watch the corpse of imperialism go by" was revived by Castro in his 2 January speech and has found an echo in stepped-up propaganda appeals for insurrection.

PART B. MAJOR PROPAGANDA THEMES

The Alliance for Progress, under constant Cuban attack since its inception, has been used in Havana's propaganda to symbolize the bankruptcy of a political-social system tied to the United States. Attacks on the Alliance have increased since the Cuban crisis, along with the intensification of the effort to encourage overthrow of the

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system. Interlaced with the attacks on the Alliance, and pervading Cuban propaganda to and about the hemisphere, is the older stock theme of "imperialist exploitation." Representative democracy is scorned as representative only of the exploiters, with a recent concentration on this theme keyed to the elections in Paraguay and Nicaragua. Threaded through the propaganda on all these themes is the notion that only radical, revolutionary action in the Cuban pattern can bring independence and true democracy to the hemisphere.

PART C. NATIONAL PRIORITIES

Venezuela has been singled out since the beginning of Castro's regime as particularly close to Cuba in outlook and historical background and hence as the country which should logically be the first to turn to Castroism. Lavish in his praise of the Venezuelan government in early 1959, when he was warmly welcomed on a visit to Caracas, Castro cooled noticeably toward President Betancourt following the San Jose OAS meeting late in 1960. Havana has since developed a vicious propaganda campaign against Betancourt that has added up to the most sustained and most extensive effort at subversion directed against any single hemisphere regime.

Central America has occupied second place after Venezuela as a major target of incitement propaganda, with the Dominican Republic a close third. Radio Havana currently operates special radio services addressed to the Dominican Republic and to Peru, which has become a target of incendiary propaganda since the October crisis. Paraguay's government came in for considerable attack at the time of the recent elections; and the regimes in Argentina, Colombia, and Ecuador have been frequently censured, although there has been little in the nature of direct incitement to revolt in these countries. Havana's propaganda is most cordial--and most careful--in its treatment of Mexico and Brazil, and relatively friendly toward Chile, Uruguay, and Bolivia. All five countries still maintain diplomatic relations with Castro.

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19 FEBRUARY 1963

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HAVANA'S REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM FOR LATIN AMERICA

A. REVOLUTIONARY AIMS

1. Inevitability of Hemisphere-Wide Revolt

The concept of Cuba's revolution as the model for the rest of Latin America and the spark that will touch off hemisphere-wide revolt has been propagated by Castro and regime spokesmen since the earliest days of the revolution. From the outset Cuban spokesmen have professed confidence that in time all the other countries of Latin America will follow Cuba's example, sweep out the old governments, establish new regimes on the Castro model, and break all ties with "U.S. imperialism." During the past year the prognosis has been carried a step further to envision the ultimate embrace of "socialism" by all of Latin America. In the first year of Castroism, Raul Castro asserted that the Cuban revolution already had had widespread repercussions throughout the hemisphere. It had proved to Latin America, he said, that "what appeared impossible has been achieved." Nothing, he continued, had created greater expectations in Latin America than the Cuban agrarian reform, and all of this placed a great moral "responsibility" on Cuba:

"We are a small country with great responsibility. We are exploring historical paths of new Latin American independence. Our revolution is a lighthouse of hope casting its beam over our sister countries. The Cuban revolution--revolution of our small country--has stirred 200 million Latin Americans."

In a meeting honoring 26 July martyrs on 14 March 1960, with Fidel Castro present on the rostrum, a speaker forecast that "the Cuban revolution will spread throughout all Latin America so that the Latin Americans can wage war against imperialist aggression." On 3 August 1960 Fidel Castro declared:

All of America will one day awaken and the people of America will take care of all these gangsters, and what happened in Cuba will be repeated in all America some day. And if they call us continental revolutionaries because we say this, let them do it. If they accuse us of wanting a revolution in all Latin America because we say this, let them accuse us. The fate of America is clear: No matter how hard the empire may try to suffocate the revolutions in America, it will be

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In his speech on the third anniversary of victory of the revolution, on 2 January 1962, Castro announced the calling of the "Second National General Assembly of the Cuban People" to draft Cuba's answer to the action to be taken by the OAS foreign ministers at the scheduled Punta del Este meeting. In that speech he pictured a Latin American revolutionary movement already in process: "There is today [in America] a liberation struggle which, to our country's honor, began in Cuba." The formal proclamation of Cuba's tutelage of Latin American revolution was issued two days later, in the "Second Declaration of Havana" adopted at the "Second National General Assembly" following the OAS severance of relations with Cuba at Punta del Este. The Cuban propaganda machine has since taken its cue from these among other statements in the Declaration:

"Cuba is a special sore spot for the imperialists.... The cause for this is fear, not fear of the Cuban revolution but fear of the Latin American revolution.... In their delirium the imperialists claim that Cuba exports revolution. Their usurious, mercantile minds conceive the idea that revolutions can be bought, sold, hired, loaned, exported, or imported like any product."

"In many Latin American countries revolutions are today inevitable. That does not depend on the will of anyone. It is determined by the frightful conditions of exploitation in which the people in the Americas live, the development of the revolutionary conscience of the masses, the world crisis of imperialism, and the universal movement of struggle of the subjugated peoples. The unrest today is the unequivocal symptom of rebellion."

"What Cuba can give the nations it has given already, that is, the example. What does the Cuban revolution teach? That the revolution is possible, that the people can make it, that in the present-day world no force is strong enough to prevent the liberation movement of peoples."

Two days later Cuban commentator Luis Gomez Wanguemert commented in a television broadcast on Castro's presentation of the Declaration:

Dr. Fidel Castro spoke with the voice of the Americas, with the voice of the hemisphere, when he read those parts of the Declaration that declare that revolution is possible and that in the contemporary world there is no force capable of obstructing the liberation movement of the peoples.

Revolutions cannot be exported. They are being made by the peoples, according to the Second Declaration. What Cuba can

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give to the peoples--and has already given to them--is a luminous example that will bear fruit in the Americas and in the world, whatever the United States might do.

Cuban Education Minister Armando Hart expanded on this theme in Montevideo, at a meeting on the 1962 anniversary of the 26 July movement:

"The revolutionary vanguards and revolutionary peoples will know, according to their own consciences, how to advance the revolution or delay it, make it more bloody or less bloody. But what cannot be stopped is the inevitable victory and the advance of revolutionary progress throughout the world.... No country exports its revolution. The Cuban revolution has not been exported. Socialism was born in Cuba because of specific conditions and in opposition to specific criticisms, but socialism was born in Cuba.... Cuba has only given an example. Cuba simply points to the road. The Cuban revolution does not transfer its example mechanically, for instance. Each people of America, under their own conditions and in their own situation and circumstances, will at the proper time do what they must do."

The Second Declaration was republished in full in REVOLUCION on the eve of this year's anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution. And a month later Havana media gave heavy play to the first anniversary of the Declaration, with recordings of Castro reading portions of the document broadcast repeatedly in domestic and international transmissions. Leftist speakers and publications from various Latin American countries were quoted on the anniversary in praise of the Declaration. A message from the Sino-Cuban Friendship Association transmitted by PRENSA LATINA on 5 February, commenting on the "great vitality" shown by the doctrine in its first year, added: "It is certain that it will exert an ever-growing influence over the Cuban revolution and the struggle of the oppressed Latin American peoples."*

* The Peking radio marked the anniversary with some 35 broadcasts relaying militant greetings to Havana from Chinese Communist mass organizations and "oppressed" South Americans. Peking's propaganda included publicity for editorials in the Cuban press and in the newspapers of pro-Peking North Korea and Albania, all holding up the Cuban revolution as a model for Latin America as a whole. Moscow, which had originally welcomed the Second Declaration with some 100 broadcasts in February 1962, ignored the anniversary entirely. More recently, Moscow failed to mention (while Peking publicized) the "special resolution" passed by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in Moshi, Tanganyika, welcoming an invitation from Castro to hold an Afro-Asian-Latin American meeting in Havana this year. Moscow generally played down the Peking-dominated Tanganyika meeting, at which a Cuban "observer" was greeted with "cheers" when he called Cuba "the fatherland of all our brothers of Africa and Asia." The Cuban

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Havana's own summation of the import of Castro's manifesto for the hemisphere was provided by PRENSA LATINA on 4 February:

"The Second Declaration is the Communist Manifesto of our times for Latin America, says the morning paper REVOLUCION. The Second Declaration of Havana is still, with as much force as the day Fidel read it...a guide for action and the charter of freedom for the Latin American peoples. REVOLUCION adds: Venezuela, Peru, and Colombia are today witnessing the heroism of their sons, of many of their sons, imbued with the revolutionary spirit that pervades the Second Declaration, which is a document that gains in current value daily because it is complemented by the revolutionary action of our brothers in Latin America who by an irreversible process have already begun the revolutionary struggle, stimulated by the matchless example of the Cuban revolution."

Commentator Jerez, on Havana TV on 5 February, added some color to REVOLUCION's summation:

"The present panorama of our continent confirms the correctness of the Second Declaration of Havana--an historic document.... The Cuban people today are in the vanguard of the entire continent. The island of American freedom is an efficient watchtower from which the reality of the entire continent can be seen in the light of Cuba's triumphant experience. It is a document which tells the terrible truth about Latin America; which points the finger at the guilty; and which proclaims that the revolution is inevitable."

2. Propagation of the Cuban "Example"

Sheltered by the slogan that revolution is not for export, Havana publicity media have advertised Cuban sympathy and support for guerrilla actions, subversion, and agitation throughout the hemisphere in a

speaker's remark accorded with the language of the Second Declaration of Havana: "What is the history of Cuba but the history of Latin America," the Declaration states, "and what is the history of Latin America but the history of Asia, Africa, and Oceania?" For a discussion of the Peking-Havana affinity on the subject of militant revolution, and some evidence of Soviet apprehensions about Castro's approach, see



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steady flow of voluminous propaganda addressed to Latin American and other audiences abroad.* The principal customary format is the ostensibly factual news report, editorialized by use of the terms "revolutionaries" or "patriots" and by references to the governments at which the action is directed as "puppet governments" or "tools of imperialism." The following extract from a Havana broadcast to Latin America on 14 February 1963 illustrates the inflammatory "reportage" currently concentrated on Venezuela:

"Romulo Betancourt's government is writing one of the last chapters in its story of bloodshed in the midst of a people who are hoisting with anger and with courage the slogan of freedom or death." The tactical units of the National Liberation Army in Caracas have demonstrated the insurrectional power of the people. Seventeen great fires in Caracas bear witness that "resistance to the dictatorship is growing, reaching ever greater sections of the population."

The following service message, filed on 8 February 1963 by the PRENSA LATINA office in Montevideo to the home office in Havana, sheds some light on the reception this blatant propaganda approach has had. The PRENSA LATINA correspondent offered, with an apology for his frankness, his judgment that two propaganda articles sent from Havana for publication in Montevideo would be counterproductive because of their lack of subtlety:

"These two articles can without doubt be published in some Cuban magazine, but it is necessary to keep in mind that they have been sent abroad, and therefore the angle must be distinct. One cannot speak of "our heroic people" and things like that. One cannot give the impression of making cheap propaganda. It is necessary to transmit abroad a picture of reality in Cuba which has great quality.... This should be done with absolute objectivity--and objectivity does not, I repeat, does not mean to take sides. Excuse the frankness of these judgments, but that is the truth, and if we do not adopt that criterion our special services will not make the pages of our clients' newspapers here."

But Castro's propaganda machine, at least at its present stage, leaves little room for subtlety. If anything more blatantly zealous now than

* See the Appendix to this report for a review of the extent of Havana's international broadcasting effort.

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a year ago, the propaganda directed to the hemisphere has been open in its assertion of Castro's revolutionary mandate and has sustained the spirit of a commentary for Latin American listeners on 4 October 1962, in which Radio Havana responded defiantly to U.S. complaints about Cuban propaganda:

"The UPI says that Radio Havana makes propaganda and that it urges the people of Latin America to overthrow their governments and shake off the yoke of Yankee imperialism. Fine! In the first place it should be said that Radio Havana has taken upon itself to disseminate the gains made by our people in three years and nine months of revolution. We are sorry, but we will continue to inform the people of Latin America and the entire world what the Cuban revolution is doing every day. The U.S. Government would, of course, prefer that Radio Havana did not exist, so that the people of the world could not know what the Cuban revolution has done.... On this program we have disclosed dozens of lies which U.S. newspapers tell about our revolution."

The mission of Havana publicity media was stated baldly by Castro at a meeting of technical advisers in Havana on 12 February 1961:

Now they are worried about a radio transmitter Havana is going to set up. As of today, Cuba is going to declare that if the United States has the right to promote counterrevolution in Cuba and in Latin America, Cuba has the right to encourage revolution in Latin America.

In his speech presenting the Second Declaration of Havana, Castro provided his own definition of what the "imperialists" call subversion:

"For the Yankee imperialists, subversion means the struggle of the starving people for bread; it is the struggle of the peasants for land; it is the struggle of the people against imperialist exploitation."

Education Minister Armando Hart, in Montevideo on 26 July 1962, spelled out some guidelines for the "struggle":

"When the imperialist bourgeoisie, allied with the national oligarchies of the people of our countries, close the road for the peaceful movement of the masses, then the masses must, of necessity, choose the path of armed rebellion; and if they do not, they commit a great mistake. They commit a great mistake if they do not rebel when it is the moment for

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rebellion, just as they commit a great mistake if the rebellion is launched when the time for rebellion is not at hand....

Guerrilla war has the virtue of incorporating, in a definite form of struggle, the peasantry--a historical force that, in our undeveloped countries and in those which have not succeeded in attaining a high level of industrial development, will play and does play a role of extraordinary importance in the unfolding of the revolutionary process."

A year later, on 23 January 1963, Blas Roca was outspoken in publicly endorsing the current guerrilla action in Venezuela, in a speech on the fifth anniversary of the ouster of Perez Jimenez:

Romulo [Betancourt] kills students and women, workers and peasants. He jails every representative of the people that he can catch and tortures them. But he cannot hold back the victory of the Venezuelan people. We honor the Venezuelan guerrillas; the combat units; the labor unions which fight daily; the students who fight constantly against the tyranny; the men and women; the parties; and the National Liberation Front. We know that the government offensive will fail and that the Venezuelan people will win. "We shall continue to give our support, each day in greater proportions, to the Venezuelan people." They will not be alone in their fight.

Spokesmen for the regime have resorted to a calculated vagueness about the extent of such "support." The propaganda thus appears to reflect the actual limitations on Cuba's capability to provide material aid--and a desire not to weaken the impact of the verbal agitation by acknowledging the extent of those limitations. In addition, an open admission of material support would give the lie directly to the assurances that Cuba simply provides the "example." Castro was atypically and rashly explicit in promising on 23 April 1960, at a time when his regime was cordial toward the Venezuelan government, that

if we ever see the Venezuelan people threatened with a return to the era of tyranny and oppression, the Cuban people will be ready to assist them with men and weapons. Our success is their success.

Nothing has been said about Cuban material support in Havana's more recent propaganda urging the "Venezuelan people" to step up guerrilla actions against President Betancourt.*

* The evolution of Havana's propaganda treatment of Venezuela is traced in detail in Part C of this report.

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Havana broadcasts customarily either ignore reports of tangible Cuban aid to revolutionaries abroad or respond with countercharge or ridicule, short of outright denial. The more widely publicized charges by other Latin American governments are normally recognized by the Havana radio:

+ For example, when President Betancourt charged before OAS officials that Cuba was responsible for the oilfield sabotage at the end of the Caribbean crisis, Havana publicized the charges, its commentators sneeringly remarking that all Betancourt was able to do was make fantastic charges against Cuba "without proof."

+ Numerous Havana broadcasts and PRENSA LATINA transmissions have similarly acknowledged Peruvian charges in connection with the Brazilian plane accident in Peru on 27 November 1962 in which several Cuban officials were killed. According to the Peruvian Government, documents carried by the Cubans revealed that Cuba was supplying money to finance a scheduled "solidarity with Cuba" meeting in Brazil and other subversive activities in that country. The Cuban radio has countered these charges in three ways: (1) by casting doubt on the authenticity of the documents, (2) by countercharging that Peru insulted Cuba in refusing entry to several members of the Cuban mission sent to claim the bodies of the Cuban victims, and (3) by giving extensive coverage to statements by Brazilian officials discounting the importance of the documents.

Other reports given less prominent play in Latin American broadcasts and news agency dispatches have been ignored by Havana media. And Havana has only indirectly countered statements--an 8 January 1963 Lima radio broadcast, for example--to the effect that subversion of Latin America is planned in Moscow and implemented from Havana. Ten days after the Lima broadcast, Radio Havana declared in a broadcast to the Americas:

Communism and its secret machinations are blamed for all the popular demonstrations and movements of liberation. Thus today in our America, Russian money is described as aid coming through Cuba. When a Latin American country loses its patience and demonstrates it, it is not declared that it demands its rights and freedoms or that it wants to live in an environment of humanitarianism and justice, but that it is being agitated from Cuba and is being mobilized on orders from Fidel Castro.

Deliberately vague about support in the form of men and money, the propaganda has been more explicit in speaking of efforts to impart the lessons of Cuba's revolutionary experience to students, intellectuals, and trade union groups from Latin American countries. These groups were singled

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out in the early days of the regime. Thus Castro declared on 2 September 1960, in presenting the First Declaration of Havana:

"Once this declaration has been submitted to the Cuban people we shall ask all revolutionary organizations in America, all the trade unions, the students, intellectual and artistic organizations, and every revolutionary man in America to support it."

And on 8 June 1961, addressing an International Union of Students Congress:

They are blaming us for infiltrating revolutionary ideas and promoting revolution in Latin America--as if the germ of revolution were not already there, as if it were not caused by exploitation. The trip to Cuba is a good chance to witness the revolution at first hand. You must have seen much in our country. We do not pretend that our revolution is perfect. We only say that we are making our revolution and other peoples can make theirs.

"Many of you will be involved in revolutionary struggles. If not, it was not worth the effort to travel so far. You are students concerned with social and political problems.... The support of the Cuban university students shows one thing: If you go to any Latin American country you will find that the students are against the government, but they support the Cuban revolution."

We have hope that one day we will be able to help the other Latin American countries. We have hope that Latin America, like Cuba, one day will be free. The Cuban revolution can give poor Latin American students 1,000 scholarships to our universities. The revolutionary government will grant these scholarships to poor students for the next term.

More recent propaganda has given negligible publicity to the Cuban program to import students from other Latin American countries, but has made no particular effort to conceal the fact that such a program exists. A broadcast to North America on 17 February this year, noting President Kennedy's press conference reference to 1,200 Latin American students in Cuba, neither confirmed nor denied the figure. The commentator retorted that

"Latin America is not seething with unrest because of what students learn in Cuba, but because of the poverty of its people and because the whole economic, political, and military strength of the United States is deployed to maintain the system that causes that poverty."

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Later in the same broadcast, however, the commentator offered this definition of what foreign students would learn in Cuba:

"the meaning of building a new society, the problems of building industry under socialism, what it means to do away with exploitation of man by man, and...a new picture of the road ahead for Latin America."

PRENSA LATINA reported on 18 February that peasant leader Francisco Juliao had left Brazil for a visit to Cuba, accompanied by two young men whose fathers were "murdered by big landowners." These young men, PRENSA LATINA reports, "have been awarded scholarships by the Cuban revolutionary government."

Publicity for the arrivals of groups and individuals from other Latin American countries has been more extensive, particularly at times of international front conferences or special propaganda events. Thus a broadcast to Latin America on 14 February 1963 announced the inauguration of "a photographic exhibit showing the Venezuelan people's fight against their national and imperialist oppressors"; one of the scheduled speakers was Venezuelan deputy Argelia Laya, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Venezuela. Almost every week the Havana radio carries a brief news note on a meeting held in the Cuban capital to develop closer relations with other Latin American countries; visitors from these countries concerned are invariably reported present.

Reportage reflecting the extent of the travel of Latin American front group delegations to and from Cuba is illustrated by the following items:

On 24 January 1963: "Members of the delegations that attended the Congress of American Women have released an important statement signed by all of the aforementioned delegates in support of the cause of the Cuban people."

On 16 January 1963: A "Youth Preparatory Committee" is planning a youth conference to be held in Chile. "It was pointed out, as in the First Congress held in Havana, that at the Second Congress the theme is struggle for the freedom of the Latin American peoples, for peace and progress."

On 15 January 1963: Representatives of the International Youth organization now in Havana have signed a public declaration of solidarity with the Cuban revolution.

On 31 December 1962: A fellowship dinner held in the House of the Americas was attended by "hundreds of members of the 15 Latin American organizations located in Cuba."

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On 23 November 1962: "Important reference works on the basic problems of the continent are being readied for publication by participants in the Latin American forum, which is working under the auspices of the House of the Americas, on under-development in Latin America, forms of imperialist exploitation, and the Alliance for Progress. The Latin American Forum has specialized personnel who are now assisting the Cuban revolution and whose research will be disseminated in printed form for the information and service of the Latin American peoples."

On 13 October 1962: Latin American organizations in Havana on Columbus Day issued a manifesto and "lashed out at false arguments presented by the colonization powers and proclaimed the Cuban revolution as the vanguard of the peoples of Latin America."

On 6 October 1962: Latin American exiles living in Cuba will meet in Havana on 11 October to form the United Front of Latin American Exiles. The event is being organized by the "Cuban Committee for the Liberation of Paraguay."

On 4 October 1962: It was announced that of the 11 countries to be represented in the Latin American games to be held in the Havana stadium, all but three groups are from countries that have broken relations with Cuba. "All in all, then, we have a right to feel optimistic when we get a full view of the relationship between the different peoples of the Latin American countries."

In a special Radio Havana program for Peru on 29 January 1963, a Peruvian in Cuba defined the inspirational benefits derived from direct exposure to the Cuban revolution:

"The Cuban revolution unites us and gives significance to our struggle. It gives us energy and faith in the future. Our debt of gratitude to Cuba is immense. We shall wage the battle against Yankee imperialism until we have torn it to shreds."

3. Sense of Urgency Since the Cuban Crisis

The Second Declaration of Havana (4 February 1962) contained the following passage:

"The duty of every revolutionary is to make revolution. In America and in the world the revolution will win. But a revolutionary must not sit in his doorway and watch the corpse of imperialism pass by. That is not a revolutionary role."

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For nearly a year this statement was virtually ignored in Cuban propaganda. The stress was on the Cuban example and the inevitability of revolution. The statement was revived and elaborated by Fidel Castro in his revolution anniversary speech on 2 January 1963, in the context of a discussion of Venezuela:

"The Venezuelan people struggled and gave extraordinary evidence of revolutionary spirit.... The imperialists were given evidence of what revolutionary solidarity is--the active solidarity of revolutionaries who do not sit in their doorways and wait for the corpse of their enemies to pass by, of revolutionaries who understand that the duty of all revolution is to recreate the revolution."

A more militant tone has characterized the propaganda generally, and Castro's speeches in particular, since the Cuban crisis. Castro's 15 January speech to the Congress of Women of the Americas, in which he called upon revolutionary organizations to "hurl the masses into battle," added up to an outspoken call for hemisphere-wide revolution. An air of impatience with the progress of revolution in Latin America was apparent in several passages of this speech and of Castro's revolution anniversary address of 2 January--a sense of urgency about the need to get on with the revolution, perhaps representing in large measure an effort to recoup some of the prestige Castro lost in the hemisphere during the October crisis. Havana media have displayed sensitivity in regard to the failure of communist and pro-Castro groups in Latin America to give effective support to Cuba during the crisis: Numerous broadcasts following the crisis sought to blame the inaction of these elements on the United States, charging that U.S. embassies were used to organize security groups to prevent sabotage and demonstrations.

The tone of impatience and urgency that marked Castro's January speeches was echoed in statements by other regime spokesmen. Juan Marinello, head of the University of Havana, spoke as follows on 28 January 1963, on the 110th birth anniversary of the Cuban revolution's "apostle," Jose Marti:

"New revolutionary tasks [are] necessary in Latin American nations. It is no exaggeration to say that we are living at a historic crossroads that revolves around the fact of the Cuban revolution.... Although it is an undeniable fact that our revolution cannot be defeated, it is also true that it will achieve its greatest importance if in its triumph it produces a notable advance in the liberation of the peoples of Latin America.... In accord with our fraternal concern and our revolutionary duty, we must ask the sister nations that are oppressed by imperialism to increase their actions in keeping with the great times in which we live. Facts have shown,

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American brothers, that imperialism, the source of our ills, does not retreat until revolutionary action forces it to retreat."

"If Cuba has been able to defeat the imperialists with its modest population and size, the Latin American peoples will also know how to defeat it. That is why we are convinced that in the immediate future the heroic, inexorable, and invincible struggle which the heroic people of Venezuela are waging today will break out throughout the length and breadth of our America.... Cubans expect that on the next Marti Day, 28 January 1964, we will salute a Latin America in invincible liberating action, in the unbreakable determination, like ours, of achieving a worthy homeland and dying a worthy death. Marti wrote: 'Let us fight in Cuba to assure, along with our independence, the independence of all America.'"

Such calls to action by Cuban leaders were buttressed by radio and television propaganda in the same vein. Thus on 8 February a radio/TV broadcast stated:

"The tension in Latin America is increasing. The latest dispatches reflect the rebellious posture evident everywhere in our America, which is mistreated, exploited, and sacrificed by the sly and brutal imperialism to the north of us that scorns us. Nineteen people have been killed in Colombia, where the government placed soldiers in the streets to act against the people. In Nicaragua the army is still attacking the demonstrators protesting against the election farce. In Paraguay the terror implanted by the bloodthirsty Stroessner increases. In Venezuela this very afternoon the liberation forces set fire to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. America is in flames!"

Publicity on the anniversary of the Second Declaration of Havana on 4 February singled out U.S. imperialism as the chief culprit hindering revolutionary progress, but also displayed impatience with the behavior of Latin America revolutionary leaders. One broadcast complained of the sluggishness and timidity of "false" opposition leaders in Latin American countries:

"This Second Declaration of Havana has had two groups of enemies--one group made up of imperialists, capitalists, and exploiters, and the other group called the pigeonholers of the Second Declaration of Havana. These pigeonholers, false opposition leaders, appear to be afraid of the message which the Declaration of Havana contains, and that message is none other than to tell

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the exploited masses of the whole continent what path is to be followed to put an end to this exploitation. That path cannot be that of sitting in the doorways of their houses to watch the corpse of imperialism pass by. That path has to be the path of rising against imperialism and against exploitation and gaining final liberation by the exploited masses through the only means indicated, the means of violent struggle against the exploiters and representatives of imperialism."

PRENSA LATINA quoted REVOLUCION as stating in an editorial on the anniversary that piecemeal reform was no longer enough. Radical revolution was the only course for Latin America:

"Every day the Yankee imperialists put forth greater efforts to patch up the Latin American economy, but as the Second Declaration of Havana proclaims, we are no longer interested in patching up in Latin America. It is necessary to remove the inefficient, brutal dress of imperialist exploitation of our people and don the new dress of Latin American revolution."*

Radio comment on the anniversary also seconded Castro's insistence in the 15 January speech on the virtual impossibility of revolutionary gains without violence. PRENSA LATINA on 10 February, in reporting a statement by the Communist Party of Chile, in effect acknowledged that this "truth was not universally accepted by revolutionary groups in the hemisphere:

"The Communist Party [of Chile] is fighting for a democratic, popular, national, anti-imperialistic, antifeudal, and anti-monopolistic revolution and for a government that has these same characteristics and is made up of the parties that contribute to its creation.... We believe that there is a chance of obtaining such a government by peaceful means, specifically through the 1964 presidential elections."

PRENSA LATINA also reported:

"The Chilean Communist Party hopes that its political opponents will not resort to crime and terrorism, thereby forcing the people to use violence. The U.S. Embassy spends millions of dollars on anticommunist propaganda. Chile to our knowledge has not put out one penny to combat the 'anti-imperialism' of the Christian Democrats."

* This passage was quoted approvingly by the Peking radio in its propaganda on the anniversary of the Second Declaration.

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B. MAJOR PROPAGANDA THEMES

1. The Alliance for Progress

The Alliance for Progress has been a principal target of Cuban propaganda to and about the hemisphere since the adoption of the program nearly two years ago. Since the Caribbean crisis, there appears to have been a heavier concentration on attacks against the Alliance. In recent months the Cuban radio has carried an average of more than one item a day attacking the Alliance for Progress and pointing out to Latin American listeners its alleged weaknesses and failures. Selected, slanted news dispatches from various Latin American countries emphasize failures and problems encountered by the Alliance, as well as opposition to the program voiced by leftist leaders. Havana commentators impugn the motives underlying the program and the methods used in carrying it out. Along with direct criticism of the Alliance, there are suggestions that it is doomed to failure because of fundamental errors in evaluation: The United States, the argument runs, seeks through the Alliance for Progress to "prop up" the existing corrupt social system in the hemisphere, when what is first of all essential is a complete overthrow of the system and its replacement by one patterned after Cuba's.

Commentators charge that the real aim of the United States is to attack the Cuban revolution through the Alliance for Progress, making sure that the Latin American peoples are kept poor and dependent; in thus "misleading" the Latin American people, U.S. imperialism will of course make sure that it reaps some benefits of its own. A broadcast on 26 January 1963 thus quotes REVOLUCION:

"The paper says: 'Their placid sleep shattered by the advance of the liberation movement of the Latin American peoples, following the example of the Cuban revolution, the Yankee imperialists are desperately trying to apply formulas for [sowing] confusion. But all these efforts are doomed to the most resounding failure.' Referring to the Latin American peoples, REVOLUCION says they no longer let themselves be fooled with baubles of colored glass from the North American bazaar. On the contrary, they bestir themselves and set out with determination to rescue their wealth, plundered by the monopolists and their accomplices in the oligarchies and by the corrupt, traitorous politicians. 'Alliance' and 'progress' are masks that do not impress anybody in Latin America."

Commentator Gonzales Perez, in a television program on 4 January 1963:

"The Alliance, [Coordinator] Moscoso said, ought to create a political mysticism to convince the masses that evolution

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within the democratic framework is more effective than the destructive alternative of communist revolution or military dictatorship. The part about military dictatorship is outright propaganda. In one year of the Alliance military cliques have burgeoned in America with the blessings of the Pentagon, the White House, and Mr. Spellman. The point, or crux, of the matter is to avoid a revolution. In Latin America a very dangerous mysticism is being created. The people look to Cuba and realize that it is possible to fight and conquer imperialism....

"Mr. Moscoso discussed agrarian reform, construction of housing, educational programs, sanitation, and industrial development. In other words, just like Kennedy, he has promised what Cuba has already made a reality. The Alliance is merely a somber replica of the shining Cuban reality. It is akin to a shadow which endeavors to darken Cuba's truth. Like the shadow it is, it lags behind Cuba. It promises what Cuba is doing."

Although the concentration of attacks on the Alliance has increased since the Caribbean crisis, there has been little change in the line. The following comment was broadcast to the Americas on 7 October 1962:

"The project in question, which is being built with funds from the so-called Alliance for Progress, consists of several houses which will be given to elements favored by the Colombian regime. The pompous plan which Mr. Kennedy baptized with the name of Alliance for Progress has sunk to this in Colombia, as well as in the other Latin American countries.... All the world agreed that the plan was merely a tool to be used to forge a solid anti-Cuban front, and the peoples, as well as economic observers with a certain amount of objectivity, received it with the skepticism with which plans for an alliance between the exploiters and the exploited must be received. Nobody believes in the Alliance for Progress any more, not even the administrator appointed by Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Moscoso, who on several occasions has declared that the plan has been a complete failure."

PRENSA LATINA "news" stories have been a major vehicle for propagating the notion that the Alliance is a failure. Thus on 7 December 1962:

"In Santo Domingo about 1,500 houses will be built to remedy the lack of 150,000 homes needed immediately in the country. In other words, the proposed measure will remedy only one percent of the Dominican housing problem."

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Another PRENSA LATINA item, on 10 December 1962, purported to quote Brazil's former President Kubitschek under a Rio de Janeiro dateline:

"Pan-American action earmarked 130 million dollars for southeast Brazil, but up to now not a penny has been delivered. The North Americans do not know Latin America, and the aid granted is merely to avoid subversion. That is an obvious political maneuver."

And a Havana broadcast to the Americas on 11 December 1962:

"A Senate subcommittee headed by Wayne Morse will start an investigation to determine causes for the failure of the so-called Alliance for Progress sponsored by President Kennedy. Senator Morse said this aid to Latin America program had not progressed satisfactorily."

Commentator Kuchilan, in a broadcast to the Americas on 20 November 1962:

"The general strike in Chile is due to the high cost of living. That is to say, at the end of a little more than one year of the Alliance for Progress, in Chile there has been no solution to the grave economic crises which affect that country, just as they affect all the countries of Latin America as a result of the contradictions and imbalance which always exist between what the people receive and what the monopolies earn--especially the foreign monopolies, which take away the greater part of the wealth of the country."

Latin American spokesmen are quoted to demonstrate resistance to any U.S.-directed effort. The following was broadcast to the Americas on 27 January 1963:

"The director of the Ecuadoran committee for President Kennedy's so-called Alliance for Progress declared that no one in Ecuador believes in that program because it is directed by the United States. The progressive press has noted that while the Alliance promised Ecuador loans of 25 million dollars, U.S. firms made 60 million in profits from the banana plantations."

PRENSA LATINA on 8 January 1963:

"Natal, Brazil--Miguel Arraes, governor-elect of the state of Pernambuco, declared: 'The Alliance for Progress has a condemnable character as far as assistance is concerned. What Brazil needs is economic development, not protection in the form of aid.'"

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Incidents attesting to popular resistance are blown up into major demonstrations. On 9 October 1962, for example, Havana broadcast the following to the Americas and repeated the item with embellishments in other broadcasts:

"The coordinator for the Alliance for Progress, the Puerto Rican Teodoro Moscoso, in a visit he made last week to Bogota, was attacked by a large group of youths with rotten eggs, stones, and mud balls when he was inspecting a housing project in the Colombian capital."

The Bogota radio reported the incident as follows:

"Police captured one of the six persons" who perpetrated an assault on Moscoso. Spectators first grabbed him, striking and kicking him. Owners of the new houses called him a communist. In the confusion the other five escaped, though Moscoso chased after them, calling for them to come back and talk with him.

2. "Imperialist Exploitation"

The second most pervasive theme of Cuban propaganda directed to Latin America is the old one of "imperialist exploitation." This stock theme cuts across the comment on the Alliance for Progress, underscoring the idea that exploitation is inherent in any contacts the United States has with the people or governments of Latin America. In characteristically intemperate language, broadcasts picture the United States as an imperialist "monster" interested only in extracting profits from Latin America and willing to rob, murder, and assume political and military control in order to safeguard its profits. Thus commentator Kuchilan on 3 December 1962:

"Poverty and ignorance are due to the imperialist exploitation that keeps these countries poor and does not give the people access to knowledge, learning, and schools. That is why there is ignorance, and as a result of poverty and ignorance there is disease. This means that the enemy is only one: imperialism, which is active both inside and outside these Latin American countries."

A commentary beamed to the Americas on 8 December 1962 filled in some details:

Imperialist spokesmen depict the United States as preoccupied with helping backward countries. Sometimes they even

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go so far as to speak of agrarian reform and a battle against hunger, poverty, and disease. These cynical phrases hide a monster whose head and stomach are in the United States. Its tentacles reach all over the world. The U.S. Government is preoccupied with deceiving the people. The U.S. Department of Commerce has released its yearly report on investments and profits of U.S. firms abroad. The figures, furnished by the firms themselves, are of course reduced to cheat the tax collector; but even if they are accepted as accurate, they are eloquent. In 1961 Yankee investment abroad came to 34.7 billion dollars, having tripled in 11 years. During that period U.S. firms obtained a profit of 34 billion dollars, of which 23 billion was sent back to the United States.

REVOLUCION on 27 December 1962:

"According to the crafty Monroe Doctrine, America is for Americans. In the language of the imperialists, that means for the United States. The dollar merchants of Wall Street came slowly, but when they discovered that within the young state of Chile were the richest mineral deposits in America, when they discovered that Chilean mines held two-thirds of South America's mineral wealth and that its lands could be exploited through extensive cultivation, Wall Street jumped at the chance. In 1915 U.S. investments in Chile amounted to more than 180 million, and in 1961, according to the U.S. Embassy, more than 300 million. These investments have produced for the U.S. monopolies tremendous profits which have been freely exported."

A commentary beamed to the Americas on 17 January 1963:

"The U.S. policy we are acquainted with in Latin America is in sharp contrast to the proclaimed traditions of the northern neighbor and its citizens, and many citizens still cannot explain why this is so. They are the ones who are unaware that that policy is oriented solely toward giving the best service to a few men, to certain firms and their special interests."

U.S. firms are pictured as making excessive profits in Latin America by resorting to trickery and plunder. PRENSA LATINA reported on 13 February 1963:

"Panama City--EL MIZE reports that the Panamanian state receives only one centavo for each barrel of petroleum which the company, which has been exempted from all taxes and enjoys other privileges,

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refines. The newspaper concludes by asserting that the U.S. company obtained such concessions by distributing half a million dollars among Panamanian ministers and other public officials."

PRENSA LATINA on 1 February 1963:

"Buenos Aires -- The signing by Foreign Minister Muniz of a protocol in addition to the treaty of guarantees that U.S. investors already enjoy probably has as an objective, according to national economists, the increase of investments in Argentina and the recolonization of Argentina by U.S. companies."

A Havana broadcast on 30 January 1963:

"Henry Ford II arrived in Venezuela to inspect a new plant for assembling automobiles built by his U.S. company. The cars will be assembled in Caracas to evade taxes."

PRENSA LATINA on 14 January 1963:

"Rio de Janeiro--The United States is taking out thorium without the knowledge of the Brazilian authorities, according to charges made by Leonides Alves Silva, former secretary of economy of Piauhly state. He says that three helicopters of the U.S. Air Force in a constant and secret operation are transporting from the interior sacks that inhabitants claim contain monazitic sand, the material from which thorium is extracted.... The flights have been going on for about 60 days. The payloads are said to be landed at a U.S. base in British Guiana."

The United States is further accused of cultural penetration in an effort to control Latin America and prevent the population from accepting the Cuban formula. According to commentator Kuchilan on 5 January 1963:

"A big education campaign is going to be held in Central America. Many books, from the first to the third grade, are going to be distributed. The funny thing about it is that the Spanish-language books are being printed in the United States. This means that the books will contain the representative-democracy orientation that suits the United States. These are books to educate Central American children in accordance with the mentality of the imperialists."

Elaborating the theme that American aid is given only to benefit U.S. monopolists, commentators note that most aid is in the form of surplus goods;

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getting rid of these supplies benefits the monopolists, the argument runs, and the supposed Latin American beneficiaries are ruined because farmers are robbed of their markets. A broadcast to the Americas on 31 January 1963 denounced the "antinational character" of U.S. aid by quoting statements attributed to Bolivian labor leaders. PRENSA LATINA reported from Rio de Janeiro on 24 January 1963, quoting Foreign Ministry spokesmen, that practically all U.S. aid to Brazil is conditional on the purchase of U.S. goods and services, "thus helping to take up the slack in the U.S. export industry." The dispatch claimed that "the statement that U.S. aid burdens the U.S. taxpayers is exaggerated, because U.S. taxpayers and consumers have benefited in recent years" from aid granted to Brazil.

3. Representative Democracy

A third major propaganda target, representative democracy, has become prominent since the beginning of 1963. The recent concentration on the subject seems traceable in large part to the recent elections in Nicaragua and Paraguay, and may be related more generally to the propaganda campaign to accelerate revolutionary activity in Latin America.

Castro's statements as far back as 1960 laid the basis for the assault on representative democracy. During the first year of his regime Castro insistently avowed his belief in free elections and promised that they would be held in Cuba. His statements during 1960 backed off from these assurances, and by 1961 he was openly ridiculing the idea of elections and implying that representative democracies invariably failed to represent the common citizen. The First Declaration of Havana, announced by Castro on 2 September 1960, illustrates the change in emphasis during that year:

"The National Assembly of the Cuban People expresses the Cuban conviction that democracy cannot consist only in the exercise of the election vote, which almost always is fictitious and is controlled by latifundists and professional politicians, but also consists in the right of the citizen to choose his own destiny--as we are doing now.... The National General Assembly of the People reiterates, and in so doing expresses the views of all the Latin American people, that democracy is not compatible with the oligarch of big finance, discrimination against Negroes, the acts of the Ku Klux Klan, and the persecution that deprived 100 scientists like Oppenheimer of their jobs."

Recent comment, pegged to the Nicaraguan and Paraguayan elections, has denounced the entire system of representative democracy. Commentator

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Gomez Wanguemert declared on 6 February 1963:

"What is the meaning of the election in Paraguay? It is simply that the United States has pressured the Paraguayan dictator in an attempt to maintain the fiction of representative democracy on a continent where the overwhelming majority of the people know nothing about real democracy....

"We have Guido in Argentina, where the results of the election were disavowed and scoffed at the following day by the 'gorilla' officers, who represent the country's real government.

"On the other side of the Cordillera is Peru, where another military junta seized power after an election that was not what one could consider clean.

"Above Peru is Colombia, where the conservatives and liberals alternate in power as the result of an agreement among certain individuals from which the Colombian people were, and are still, excluded.

"Alongside Colombia is Venezuela, where a man who came to power on a democratic platform has suspended national guarantees for an indefinite period and remains in power through the use of force."

The OAS is attacked at the same time. The following commentary was broadcast on 11 February 1963:

Paraguay should be viewed in the light of arguments that representative democracy is a prerequisite for OAS membership. One year ago at Punta del Este the U.S. State Department managed by various means and pressures to get a bare two-thirds majority for the illegal exclusion of Cuba from the OAS, although countries abstaining or vetoing the expulsion comprise two-thirds of Latin America. Democratic Cuba, where the people have power, was forced out by the votes of corrupt, servile dictatorships manipulated by the State Department, which now seeks to make its allies seem to be real democracies.

Commenting on the recent elections, a broadcast to the Americas said on 12 February:

"Two elections of a singular nature have recently been held in Latin America. In both cases, everyone knew in advance who was

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going to be elected.... Both manufactured their own opposition because the real opponents and their parties have been outlawed and their militants killed, jailed, or exiled.... Thus Nicaragua is a magnificent example of 'representative democracy' and is worthy of every praise from the U.S. State Department and membership in the OAS."

4. Cuba as the Model and Guide

The concept of the Cuban "example" as the all-important guide for every Latin American nation threads through the comment on all three of the major themes described above. Commentaries centered on the Cuban example are fewer in number than those devoted to the Alliance for Progress and "imperialist exploitation," but the notion is almost always interjected in one way or another in the commentaries on those themes for hemisphere audiences. The publicity media rely heavily on statements made by Cuban sympathizers in Latin America, with PRENSA LATINA devoting a large proportion of its news stories to such statements. Thus the propaganda effort to discredit everything prompted or sought by the United States for Latin America has as its constant corollary the effort to keep the example of Cuba in the foreground as the practical alternative to alliance with the United States.

C. NATIONAL PRIORITIES

1. Venezuela

Cuban propaganda since the inception of the Castro regime has pictured Venezuela as particularly close to Cuba in historical outlook and background, and hence as the country which should logically be the first to adopt Cuba's social and political system. Castro's tactics at the beginning were to court the Venezuelan Government with cordial overtures for friendship. Frustration at the ineffectiveness of this approach brought a progressive cooling of relations with President Betancourt and the development, particularly over the past year, of a vicious propaganda assault on Betancourt that has added up to the most sustained and most extensive effort at subversion directed against any single regime in the hemisphere.

Shortly after he assumed power Castro made a trip to Venezuela, where he was greeted by Betancourt, addressed a large crowd in Caracas, and was

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warmly acclaimed by the Venezuelan people. As a result Castro was lavish in his praise of the Venezuelan regime and cordial toward President Betancourt personally. He declared on 24 January 1959:

We Cubans will remain bound to the Venezuelans if they have a government which is the product of free elections. They have civilian leaders like Betancourt, and Venezuela has never been in a better situation than she is today.

More than a year later, 19 February 1960, Castro declared in an interview that his government had nothing but "good relations" with the Venezuelan Government. On 23 April 1960 he stated in another interview:

We can always count on the Venezuelan people. I am sure the Cuban people feel the same way about the Venezuelan people that the Venezuelans feels about us. It affords us great satisfaction to know that the Venezuelan people are becoming more and more solidly and democratically revolutionary with the passing of each day.

It was in the context of these confident remarks about Venezuela's increasing affinity with Cuba under its present regime that Castro promised:

If we ever see the Venezuelan people threatened with a return to the era of tyranny and oppression, the Cuban people will be ready to assist them with men and weapons. Our success is their success.

The shift in Castro's line appears to date from the San Jose conference in August 1960. On 30 August Castro told Havana teachers:

Venezuela is not a country with its arms folded. The Venezuelan people are friends of Cuba. It is impossible that the peoples of America do not understand this revolution, which speaks their language and in which the conquest is a message for them. The empire, which speaks a different language, will not be able to tear from America the brotherhood toward the Cuban revolution. It is one thing to manage foreign ministers, but another to manage peoples.

Cuban relations with the Venezuelan Government grew steadily worse, and propaganda attacks on Betancourt became direct and increasingly vitriolic. A Havana radio commentator had this to say on 8 June 1961:

A couple of years ago there might have been some readers of SELECCIONES and VISION who thought that the armed forces were reactionary but that Betancourt was a democrat. Later their

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views had to change regarding Betancourt. "If the thousands of lessons of history did not make them hesitate, the message sent to Romulo Betancourt by his chief and guide, President Kennedy, is enough to open the eyes of anyone.... The essence of the matter is that Kennedy congratulates the armed forces for the blood bath at Puerto Cabello. Kennedy congratulates Betancourt for the murders, the illegal arrests, the tortures being suffered by the best sons of Venezuela."

The following are examples of Havana comment on Venezuela in 1962:

On 19 March: "Betancourt should get used to the idea that it is by force that he will be overthrown."

On 9 May: "When a people rises to fight there is no repression, no terror, no crime which can conquer it, and the people of Venezuela have risen to fight. The guerrillas are active in various places. The dramatic episode of Carupano, despite its outcome, does not strengthen Betancourt. It weakens him. The fight is not ended; it has only begun. Sooner or later this fight will be won by the Venezuelan people."

On 14 July, PRENSA LATINA quoting the paper EL MUNDO: "Since the door to any civic solution of the difficulty has been barred in that country, the Venezuelan patriots have no other alternative but to fight the despot openly.... Many heirs of Bolivar will pursue the guerrilla road taken by the students, workers, and farmers who are fighting heroically at Falcon, Portuguesa, Merida, Zulia, and Yaracuy for the liberation of Venezuela and the redemption of the humble."

On 10 October 1962 PRENSA LATINA quoted from an "open letter" published in Mexico City and written by Dr. Vicente Cabezas, "head of the Venezuelan guerrillas":

"For forging revolution in Venezuela we cannot wait for the 1964 elections. We cannot allow the people to be deceived, nor can we help to create illusions by suggesting that through the polls basic changes will be achieved in our economic and social structure."

On 8 October 1962 the Cuban radio announced that a "week of solidarity" with Venezuela would be observed starting on 4 November. On 16 October a statement by Venezuelan Deputy Guillermo Garcia Ponce was broadcast:

"The appearance of guerrilla detachments fighting so valiantly in the various regions of the country is the inevitable result

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of the Venezuelan political and social evolution. Betancourt and his accomplices have deprived a majority of Venezuelans of the opportunity to exercise their rights. He has shut the doors to civil and peaceful paths in the political field and has doomed the country to ruin. Under these circumstances armed combat, including guerrilla warfare, has become a very dignified and fair way of defending the freedom, independence, and interests of the Venezuelan people."

Cuban propaganda throughout has provided revolutionary "solidarity," advice, and applause for the Venezuelan guerrillas. There is no allusion to material aid.

The propaganda effort in regard to Venezuela has increased considerably since the Cuban crisis, given momentum by the November "week of solidarity" and by a second effort in January 1963 on the anniversary of the ouster of Perez Jimenez. In the first two weeks of February there was a stepped-up effort to encourage sabotage and uprisings in Venezuela in protest against President Betancourt's impending visit to the United States. The following are samples of Cuban broadcasts since the beginning of the year:

On 21 January, PRENSA LATINA quoting HOY: "Betancourt is certainly going through difficult times. Thanks to the support of the peasants, the heroic guerrilla fighters have established themselves in various regions. The people of Venezuela are resisting and rising. More united and strong each day, they are fighting the tyranny imposed by the Alliance for Retrogression."

On 8 February: "Romulo Betancourt's regime announced last night another wave of repression throughout the country, basing its action, according to an official statement, on the discovery of a large quantity of arms and subversive material in what is described as the central headquarters of the Armed Forces of National Liberation.... The house which the police said was the headquarters of the organization was assaulted by dozens of repressive agents in a great display of force."

On 14 February: "The curfew already has been established in Caracas and orders have been issued to fire in the city, which is filled with military uniforms. Romulo Betancourt's government is writing one of the last chapters in its story of bloodshed...."

Havana media have consistently exaggerated the dimensions of the guerrilla attacks. One Havana broadcast on 14 February seemed to pains to explain the

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ability of the guerrillas to continue their operations:

Good examples of the proportions assumed by the struggle are the seizure of the town of San Antonio de Los Altos, the routing of the forces of the regime, and the capture of arms and ammunition to continue the fight in the mountains

(Reports from Caracas described these operations as having been on a very small scale and said nothing about the capture of arms and ammunition.)

Cuba's aspirations for the Venezuelan venture and the importance Havana attaches to a victory were summed up by Blas Roca in a speech on 23 January, on the anniversary of the ousting of Perez Jimenez:

"The victory of Venezuela will give Cuba a tremendous boost. We will cease to be the solitary Caribbean island facing the Yankee imperialists and we will have a nation on the continent to back us."

2. Central America

The Central American states have occupied second place, after Venezuela, as major targets of Cuban incitement propaganda. Castro's break with the governments in these states predated the break with Betancourt, and the direct propaganda attacks were correspondingly earlier. Fidel Castro announced in his May Day speech in 1960:

"Without the slightest problem, the slightest difficulty, one day the President of Guatemala called for his Ambassador and without the slightest incident he broke off diplomatic relations with Cuba and said that in the Sierra Maestra troops were being trained to invade Guatemala. This was an unfounded charge, absurd." What a coincidence that the maneuver came from Guatemala, where nobody can govern without United Fruit support. What a coincidence!

Havana media have consistently denied charges regarding shipments of arms and subversive materials into the Central American countries, but the effort at subversion by radio has been particularly open in this area. Central American countries have been the main targets of special broadcast services maintained at various times by Radio Havana. At one time Havana was operating special broadcast services to Honduras, Nicaragua, and Guatemala, although the broadcasts to Honduras and Nicaragua were dropped in September 1962 and the ones for Guatemala have not been heard.

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since 18 December.* At the present time Havana maintains such regular radio services only to Peru and the Dominican Republic and broadcasts, in addition, special programs to other individual countries at irregular intervals, often featuring speeches or statements by persons from those countries visiting Havana. The following is taken from a typical special broadcast addressed to Costa Rica on 26 January 1962:

Here in Havana representatives of various activities and popular groups of Costa Rica are working enthusiastically and with dedication to make conditions favorable for the Latin American revolution, which is on the march, so that it can become a reality as quickly as possible.

The following are samples of propaganda in the radio services specifically for Central America during 1962, prior to the Caribbean crisis:

3 April, to Nicaragua: "The backward situation and the poverty of our people can be overcome only by means of a revolution."

20 April, to Guatemala: "The tyrant who rules Guatemala...surely will not be around to commemorate the second anniversary of Playa Giron. This is because he is falling. His position is untenable because the people are sweeping him away."

10 May, to Honduras: "Socialist Cuba is not exporting revolution to any country of the world, including Honduras. But in our fatherland there will be a revolution despite the Villeda Moraleses, imperialism, and everything that interferes in the fight of the Honduran people for a better, more just society."

1 June, to Nicaragua: "The people of Nicaragua know that only by taking power can they begin forging their happiness. The future of our country will be decided by our workers and peasants, not the election manipulators."

Although the special radio services to Nicaragua and Honduras are no longer operating and the programs specifically for Guatemala have at least been

* No announcement of formal cancellation of the service to Guatemala has been heard. A special broadcast service to Peru was similarly suspended after the Cuban crisis but was subsequently restored.

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suspended, the propaganda line in regard to these countries has remained unchanged in broadcasts beamed across the board to audiences in the Americas. The following are recent samples:

5 February: "As a result of the Somoza election farce, the great oppressed masses of the continent are organizing themselves into more energetic fighting fronts so as to participate in the electoral maneuvers of their enemies and to make more obvious the farce and deception inherent in this apparatus favored by the 'representative democracies.'"

6 December, reporting a speech by former Guatemalan president Arbenz: "Elsewhere in his talk Arbenz said that the Cuban revolution has made clear to Guatemala's liberation forces what is the right course to take.... He stressed that the only correct course left for the people of Guatemala is armed revolution, as demonstrated by the glorious Cuban revolution."

8 February: The Swan Islands, as the whole world knows, are situated north of Honduras, a few miles from the coast, and one hour's flight from Guantanamo Base. The Honduran masses frequently have waged energetic campaigns to recover control of those islands so that they might not be used as bases of aggression against our people.

4. Dominican Republic

Because of its geographical location and because of the political changes that have taken place in the Dominican Republic in the past two years, this country has ranked high as a propaganda target in Central America. It is one of the three countries to which Havana now beams special broadcasts, and in addition a pro-Castro Dominican exile group issues regularly the "Dominican Bulletin" which appears in regular broadcasts to the Americas. Next to Venezuela, it gets more attention than any other single country, and almost as much at present as the Central American region.

The tone and content of the special broadcasts to the Dominican Republic have been adjusted to developments and conditions in the country. Before the election there was heavy pressure on listeners to stay away from the polls. In recent weeks the focus has been on rumors that an attempt would be made on the life of President-elect Juan Bosch upon his return to Santo Domingo. Anti-U.S. propaganda and incitement of dissatisfied groups within the Dominican Republic are pervasive. Some examples follow:

5 April 1962: "Our people are rising and will continue to rise against tyranny. In order to sweep away the enemies who usurp power, our people will carry out a democratic revolution

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of national liberation.... In addition to being necessary, the revolution is inevitable."

15 April 1962: "Land reform in the Dominican Republic can be achieved only by means of a democratic revolution, a revolution of national liberation, a revolution that is both anti-imperialist and antifeudal. A real land reform can be accomplished only by a revolutionary power."

7 July 1962: "Warping the facts and parroting the well known imperialist slanderous remarks, the Council of State issued last night in Santo Domingo a communique attempting to link the picketing, which took days to organize, with a Havana radio program broadcast yesterday."

27 December 1962: "It is very probable that we may be telling a story of the struggle of the Dominican people similar to the three unbearable years of the repressive era of Betancourt, provided both Bosch and Betancourt have not been hurled into the rubbish heap of history before then."

26 December 1962: "Elections are not a substitute for revolution and revolution cannot take place by elections. Revolution is necessary, regardless of whether or not elections are held."

15 January 1963: "The masses in the street, fighting together for common and just objectives, constitute a more powerful force than the repressive force of the government. This also confirms that, despite its obstinate resistance, the government will be forced to bend its knee, open the country's door to all anti-Trujillista exiles and deportees, and to revoke the hated Yankee fascist emergency law."

5. Peru

Havana's special broadcasts to Peru prior to the Caribbean crisis were largely free from obvious incitement to violence. There was frequent criticism of the Prado regime and later of the military junta, and the Aprista party and its leader have been regular targets. But most pre-crisis Havana broadcasts to Peru emphasized Cuban gains. Two of the most incendiary items monitored in this service prior to 22 October 1962 follow:

30 July: "There is no legality greater than that of a nation fighting for its legitimate rights; there is no legality greater than that of a nation acquiring its freedom through the force

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of arms, and there is no other way.... Not only imperialism and the oligarchy, but those who say that the people of Peru can acquire their freedom and rights by an understanding with reaction are also liars and swindlers."

28 August: "Some in Peru say that conditions are lacking for creating a revolutionary spirit. Some insist on seeking the 'democratic' way, the democratic way whose result has been the presence of the army in power and in the government. Those who talk this way have never had contact with the masses, never got close to the people to learn their sufferings and problems intimately.... How long will we go with the electoral chain, which just changes one of imperialism's puppets for another?"

Since the recent outbreak of violence in Peru Havana has been less reticent, and calls to action have become almost as frequent as in broadcasts to the Dominican Republic. It is difficult to say whether the sabotage and guerrilla action began before or after the incendiary broadcasts, but on 5 December 1962 HOY seemed to be forecasting trouble in Peru:

"It is natural, then, that this country of chilling contrasts should be, as Luis Felipe Angel says, a time bomb whose explosion the world will hear at any moment. It would be strange, he adds, to see in the old Inca capital the rebellion of the volcanoes starting bright and violent, uncontrollable and strong."

Other recent broadcasts to Peru:

22 December, commentary by Patricio Fernandez Quirago: "In Peru a powerful guerrilla movement is growing. It already forms the nucleus for a future national liberation army. It has units like the ones that are operating in the Convencion and Lares valleys and leaders with the ability and proven patriotism of Hugo Blanco. A national liberation movement is in action."

6 January: "The Peruvian people will continue their course, going all out in their action against the despicable regime that was imposed upon them by their exploiters, both domestic and foreign."

7 January: "The military government junta may rest completely assured that there will be revolution in Peru and the people will take over power.... We wonder if, among the members

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of the armed forces, there is not a group of truly honorable and patriotic men who love the people of Peru and are ready to place their weapons at the service of the people."

Peruvian officials have stated flatly that the uprisings in Peru have been financed and promoted by Cuba. Havana publicity media have not taken note of this charge, but a commentator broadcasting to the Americas came close to acknowledging it on 18 January:

In Peru, where human life is not worth a plugged nickel to the Creole and Yankee exploiters, signs of a popular protest are seen more and more. The police of the Peruvian "gorillas" stated that this was a subversive plan directed from abroad.

5. Other Latin American Countries

Apart from Venezuela and the countries that have been recipients of special broadcasts from Havana, Paraguay has been the one discussed in the most vitriolic language in broadcasts to the Americas. Paraguay came in for considerable attack during the recent elections.

Argentina, Colombia, and Ecuador have been subjects of frequent criticism, but there has been little in the nature of direct incitement to revolt. Argentina has been denounced bitterly for its part in the Cuban quarantine, and the Argentine military leaders are regularly referred to as "gorillas." President Guido is frequently the object of scorn, but forecasts of revolution in Argentina are generalized and vague.

The Latin American countries that get the most cordial treatment in Cuban broadcasts are the five that still recognize the Cuban regime--Mexico, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, and Bolivia. Direct criticism of the governments in these countries is rare. The two countries that get the most careful treatment are Mexico and Brazil. Mexico is the only Latin American country maintaining air transportation contacts with Cuba and provides a transit point for the stream of visitors going to and from Cuba. Havana propagandists quote Brazilians more often than spokesmen of any other country.

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APPENDIX

I. SCOPE OF HAVANA'S INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING

The Cuban Government uses three vehicles for its radio propaganda to audiences in other countries: "Radio Free Dixie," "The Friendly Voice of Cuba," and "Radio Habana Cuba."

† "Radio Free Dixie" is a one-hour weekly transmission in English to Negroes in the United States, broadcast over the facilities of Havana's 50-kilowatt transmitter "Radio Progreso" and its network of eight relay stations situated throughout Cuba. Robert F. Williams, the North Carolina Negro who fled to Cuba to avoid prosecution for alleged kidnapping, is the director and chief commentator of this program, which is heard every Friday night at 11 p.m. EST. Using "jazz" terminology and frequently crude language, Williams tells his "oppressed North American brothers" that they are going to have to "fill a lot of jails and a lot of graves, and not just with black boys, either," in order to achieve "freedom and social justice." Assisting Williams are newscaster Carlos Moore and "musical hostess" (disc jockey and commentator) Jo Salas. "Radio Free Dixie" is heard very well in southern Florida and can probably be heard in many areas of the southern United States without elaborate technical facilities.

† "The Friendly Voice of Cuba," formerly a popular Havana radio station known as "Radio Mambi," began broadcasting in May 1962. Although this powerful station does not so announce, its transmissions are apparently intended for listeners in the United States. "The Friendly Voice of Cuba" broadcasts from 6:00 in the morning to 1:00 a.m. EST. All of its programs, except for four seven-minute Spanish news shows, are in English. Its approach is a shade more subtle than that of "Radio Free Dixie." It is heard best in southern Florida, but can also be heard in many parts of the southern United States.

† The official international service called "Radio Habana Cuba" is the chief external radio propaganda outlet of the Cuban Government. More commonly known as "Radio Havana," this station broadcasts weekly a total of 187 hours and 50 minutes of propaganda in languages which include English, French, Arabic, Portuguese, Spanish, and Haitian Creole, to listeners in Europe, the Mediterranean area, and the Western Hemisphere. "Radio Havana" is under the supervision of Marcos Behemaras, deputy director (for international broadcasting) of the Instituto Cubano de Radiodifusion.

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Although first observed by FBIS monitors on 14 March 1961, the Cuban international service was not officially inaugurated until May Day of that year, when it began presenting a relatively modest schedule of programs in English, French, and Spanish for Europe and the Americas for a total of 42 hours a week. Since then, "Radio Havana" has grown by leaps and bounds, finally emerging as Latin America's number one international broadcaster. Its time on the air is as follows, in hours per week:

Arabic to the Mediterranean area	- 5 hours 15 minutes
Haitian Creole to Haiti	- 7 hours
English to Europe	- 9 hours 20 minutes
English to the Americas	- 17 hours 30 minutes
French to Europe	- 9 hours 20 minutes
French to Canada	- 3 hours 30 minutes
French to the Mediterranean	- 3 hours 30 minutes
Portuguese to Brazil	- 7 hours
Spanish to Europe & the Mediterranean	- 16 hours 55 minutes
Spanish to the Americas	- 108 hours 30 minutes

The technical facilities of "Radio Havana" are at the Bauta transmitter site about 23 miles southwest of Havana. At present, no more than four shortwave transmitters are being used, but in the past as many as five have been observed on the air at the same time. These transmitters range in power from 10 to 100 kilowatts, enabling "Radio Havana" to be heard all over the world. Programs are sent from studios in Havana to the transmitter site at Bauta by means of microwave relays.

In addition, these transmitters have been known to broadcast special programs in order to take advantage of particular political situations. When serious disorders broke out in the Dominican Republic in late 1961, for example, broadcasts emanating from a self-styled "clandestine" station called "Radio Revolucion del Movimiento Catorce de Junio" demanded the overthrow of the Dominican government. The station went off the air after about a week, but not before direction finder (DF) bearings and other technical clues indicated that the Bauta transmitter site was the point of origin.

"Radio Havana" announces that it makes its facilities available to political groups from other Latin American nations so that they can beam regular programs back to their homelands. These programs are now broadcast as follows:

* The Peruvian Anti-Imperialist Struggle Movement (Movimiento Peruano de la Lucha Anti-Imperialista) broadcasts the "La Voz del Peru Revolucionaria" program to Peru on Sundays from 7 to 7:15 p.m. EST;

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+ The Dominican Liberation Movement (Movimiento de Liberacion Dominicana) broadcasts the "Patria Libre" program to the Dominican Republic on Wednesdays and Fridays from 9 to 9:15 p.m. EST.

+ In addition, the Guatemalan Information Committee (Comite Guatemalteco de Informacion) had transmitted the "Mensaje a Guatemala" program to Guatemala on Tuesdays and Saturdays from 9 to 9:15 p.m. EST; these broadcasts have not been heard since 18 December, but the service has not been formally canceled.

Similar special programs were formerly beamed to Nicaragua and Honduras, but were dropped in September 1962 in favor of a "Radio Havana" program called "Trinchera Americana," now heard nightly from 9:30 to 9:40 p.m. EST. This program is more flexible in that it attacks the regimes of any Latin American nation, changing its target from night to night according to the exigencies of the prevailing political situation.

II. PRENSA LATINA

PRENSA LATINA, the official press service of the Cuban Government, transmits approximately 119 hours a week in Spanish Morse to Latin America. These transmissions consist of major speeches by high Cuban officials and "news" reports selected and edited to accord with the anti-imperialist, anti-U.S., pro-revolutionary propaganda line of the Castro regime. The material is intended for publication in magazines and newspapers throughout the hemisphere and for use by radio stations, some of which use it without identifying the source. PRENSA LATINA thus serves as a major vehicle for Cuban propaganda infiltration of Latin American publicity media.

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